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ABSTRACT

This report discusses identity themes that emerged in a longitudinal (1977-1981) study of identity, ego, and career development patterns among immigrant adolescents and young adults in Boston, Massachusetts. Qualitative data, which were collected from journals that the subjects kept, and from semi-structured interviews, revealed the subjects' feelings about being in the United States; interpersonal relationships; outlooks on life; and perceptions of themselves as young adults. Three major themes were derived from analysis of the data. One theme, "sense of belonging versus enstrangement," reflected the youths' initial feelings of alienation from American society (because of their different cultural background and experiences with discrimination), which gave way to a sense of belonging as the way of life became more familiar, new friendships were forged, and citizenship status was attained. A second theme, "identification with the primary group and cultural values," indicated the strong influence of family and traditional values on the subjects' career choices, friendships, and philosophies of life. A third theme, "personal relations," emphasized the importance of personal relationships in the search for self. The data suggested that immigrant youths combined new and familiar cultural elements to reach a new sense of balance in the search for identity. (Author/MJL)

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Immigrant Young Adults and Identity Issues

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Immigrant Young Adults and Identity Issues

Abstract

The purpose of this five year longitudinal study was to examine the identity, ego and career development patterns of thirty immigrant young adults. Receiving particular treatment in this presentation are the identity themes that emerged. They were: a sense of belonging versus estrangement; identification with primary group cultural values; and sense of self as influenced by family and peers relationships.

The investigation that began in 1977 (Arredondo-Dowd, 1978) included 30 subjects from 13 different ethnic backgrounds who spoke English as their second language. At the conclusion, there were complete protocols for 17 individuals. These quantitative and qualitative data were accessed through the Washington University Sentence Completion Test for Ego Development (Loevinger & Wessler, 1970) for identity, the McClain Self Description Test (McClain, 1975) journal entries and semi-structured interviews. Mean scores for ego and identity development increased over the five years and the majority of the subjects specialized in the science and technology fields. The combined findings suggest a profile of an immigrant young adult with a more integrated sense of self (over time), a strong affiliation with family and primary cultural group, and an acceptance of life in the United States. In other words, the immigrant has become bicultural. Quantitative findings are discussed in the context of identity development and socialization processes.

Identity Themes for Immigrant Young Adults

Introduction

How will the identity development process for adolescents be affected by immigration at the onset or in the midst of adolescence? This was one question guiding a five-year longitudinal investigation of ego, identity development and the career development of immigrants. The participants in this study were 30* young adults (F=17, M=13) representing 13 different ethnic backgrounds and three racial groups (see Table 1). At the beginning of the study, their average age was 16 and they had to have been in the United States minimally one year. In June 1981, the mean age was 21 and the average length of stay was six years. The remaining sample included 10 women and 7 men, 60% of the original sample.

(Insert Table 1)

The investigation was based in the Boston area from 1977-1981. It began with this researcher's dissertation investigation (Arredondo-Dowd, 1978) that included the teaching of a psychological education curriculum to stimulate ego, identity and moral development as well as the gathering of baseline data on these psychological dimensions. Involved was an experimental group of immigrants and three control groups: one was immigrant and the other two were American born. In the initial study (Arredondo-Dowd, 1978, 1981) a one-way analysis for pretest data showed significant differences only for moral

*total number of participants in 1977.

reasoning. An analysis for change scores indicated that as a result of the intervention, the experimental group differed significantly only in term of moral reasoning. It was hypothesized that because of the complexity of the ego and identity development process, changes were too discrete and could not even minimally be inferred. Curiousity around growth for both ego and identity development prompted the continuation of the investigation for the next five years. Additionally, the majority of the students were college oriented. A review of their chosen career paths and the influencing forces was also made. To be reported primarily are the qualitative findings for identity development and career choice. Quantitative results for ego and identity developments will be cited.

(Insert Table 2)

Data Gathering Procedures

Both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered via the mails and through interviews. The McClain Self-Description Blank (McClain, 1975), an instrument based on Eriksonian psychosocial development theory, and aimed at an adolescent population (ages 14-18) served to assess identity development. This self-administered test is designed to measure the proportion of success to failure for each of the eight stages of man (Erikson, 1964). The instrument had been used previously with cross cultural populations and with adolescents in non-traditional educational settings.

The Washington University Sentence Completion Test based on ego development theory as proposed by Jane Loevinger (Loevinger & Wessler, 1970, and Loevinger, 1976) was used. It is a projective test that consists of 36 brief sentence items which subjects complete with "whatever comes to mind". There

are separate forms for men and women, with eight stems completely different, and for others, the words "he" and "she" are transposed.

Leovinger developed a scoring manual (1970) based on rating hundreds of protocals according to her general theory sentence completions are individually rated and assigned to one of nine stages including the two transitional levels. There is an assumption that each person has a core level of ego development. By rating a total protocal, an attempt is made to estimate that core level of functioning.

The Sentence Completion Test had been used by this researcher in an earlier pilot study with immigrant adolescents (Arredondo-Dowd, 1976). At that time translations were made in Spanish, Chinese, and Russina. Subjects were administered protocals both in English and their first language. Findings indicated no appreciable differences in ego stage assignment.

Qualitative data came from two sources: journals subjects kept for the first five months of the study (1977-at the time the intervention was administered) and from interviews held in 1980 and 1981. The open ended, semi-structured interview was developed by this researcher. It served to gather demographic information, as well as to engage the subjects in a discussion about their experiences, past and present as affected by immigration. (See sample questions in Table 3.) Not all participants were interviewed due to distance or inaccessability. A serious limitation of the study was the flux in the number of subjects over the five years. While there were

(Insert Table 3)

30 participants to begin with in 1977, only 17 completed all of the protocals. Regardless, contact has been maintained with all but five of the subjects.

These 25 have expressed a desire to know the outcome of the study, more specifically, "how they have changed".

Mean scores for the five year period (1977-1981) indicate gains in sense of identity versus role confusion. Of a total 100 points, the group average advanced from 64.5 to 74.7. An analysis of variance for change scores reveal significant differences at the .05 level.

As for ego development, there was a stage score increase. At the beginning of the study, the group was clustered at the I-3 Conformist Stage. The 1981 mean stage score was I-3/4: Self-Awareness Level: Transition from Conformist to Conscientious Stage. Loevinger (1970) found this to be the modal level of functioning for the majority adult population in the United States. Again, Changes were significant at the .05 level.

Minimally, the significant changes in gain scores for identity suggest less confusion and more consolidation about one's personal sense of identity. For ego development, one can infer a deepened interest in interpersonal relations, a stronger awareness of feelings, and increased conceptual complexity and abstraction. The meaning of these quantitative data, however, cannot be explained independent of qualitative material that is explicit and rich in detail.

Qualitative Findings

The journals and interviews provided expansive descriptive material about the participants for a number of identity related dimensions. The discussion of these findings includes reflections on past events and the accompanying

feelings, how these feelings have changed over time, and where individuals are with respect to a personal sense of identity. Uniqueness of the immigration experience for each person cannot be underestimated. While there is sameness around age range, reasons for immigration and orientation to education, there are many other differences with respect to cultural socialization, family dynamics, economics, and employment of parents, among others.

Preceeding the discussion of the identity themes are comments about basic group identity and initial socialization. These are essential as they provide a context from which to better understand the complexity of the identity development process for this select group of young adults.

Basic Group Identity

For these immigrants arriving in the United States at the onset or in the midst of adolescence meant many changes and consequent adjustments. They had lived 14-17 years of their young lives in another country with its own history, politics, values, language, cultural lifestyle and traditions, and other demographic factors. In essence, they already had a basic group identity with a "ready-made set of endowments and identifications....shared with others from birth by chance of the family into which they (sic) were born at that given time in that given place" (Isaacs, 1976). These are common group holdings of which a baby shares, thus, inheriting the whole past as her/his family has received it. Two of the elements that make up this basic group identity are one's body and name and these are the ingredients with which one is born. While a name is transformable, there is not much one can do to change the body.

This is necessary background information for these immigrants who have grown from adolescents to young adults in the United States. It is important to acknowledge the history with which they arrived, the socialization they experienced in their homeland, and the cultural values and attitudes they held. All served as self-defining characteristics. For in many instances since their arrival, these had been factors impacting their personal sense of identity, and their process of acculturation. The power of cultural socialization cannot be underestimated. It serves as a centering force or anchor which influences one's world view (Sue, 1979) and consequent attitudes and behavior.

Identity Themes

The semi-structured interview served to elicit responses on a range of identity and acculturation related issues. Subjects discussed their feelings about being in the United States; their relations with American born and same ethnic persons; their philosophy of life; and how they viewed themselves as young adults. From these one to two hour commentaries were derived themes that point to one's acculturation process and identity development.

It is this writer's observation that these are fluid, interrelated processes for immigrants. Individuals were made to confront two equally powerful systems of socialization - their primary one and that of the United States. As one woman said, "It's like being born again. You have to find out who you are while getting messages from two sides saying - this is how you were raised and this is how you should be."

Expressions of current identiy status focused on three themes: sense of belonging versus estrangement; identification with primary group and cultural values; and sense of self as influenced by family and peer relationships. These are not fixed themes, that is, they do not represent events or incidents only. Rather, they reflect dimensions of a process that has evolved over time and that (may) in fact continue to change the longer one is here and as one moves into adulthood. As an example, career orientation is one expression of the combined force of these themes. Identity development and integration are not separate dimensions but rather necessary to emergence of wholeness (Erikson, 1964). Thus, these themes reflect those aspects of self that are considered important and integral to identity. All themes will be discussed separately with supporting qualitative comments.

Sense of Belonging Versus Estrangement

In a new mixed society such as the United States, "newcomers" become the "outsiders". They face what Kurt Lewin (1976) called the "uncertainty of belongingness", with challenges to self-esteem and personhood "in dealing with members of other groups be they more powerful or less"(p.35). Initially the immigrants felt out of place though they wanted to be here. They became aware of how they differed from others in terms of language, dress and physical characteristics, the most noticeable features.

> Syung: There were so many white faces. I am from Korea. Sure you saw Asian people here but not as many. That was an adjustment.

Others realized for the first time that they were seen as a minority.

Faith: I didn't realize how serious the racial problems were in Boston. One day I sat in an empty seat on the subway. The woman next to me got up and sat elsewhere. I thought this was very strange because it had never happened to me before. In Jamaica it is predominantly Black so you don't think about color problems.

Racial and ethnic prejudice and discrimination were first time experiences for the majority. They took place in the first few months of their stay here and served to begin to break down the idealization of the States as a welcoming land. For others this sense of not belonging continued into college.

Bernard: I was sitting in this large lecture hall and all of a sudden I realized I was the only Black person there. It was a strange feeling. I wasn't scared but just very self-conscious. Sometimes I wonder if the White kids noticed. Anyway, I was reluctant to speak up because of this. I did not want to appear stupid.

Joseph: In college you cannot pick your roommate so you try to get along with whoever shows up. My roommate was born in the States. He seemed nice enough when we were together, asked about my country (Dominican Republic) and seemed genuine. But I lost faith when he would ignore me around campus. He would be with other friends and barely say hello to me. That bothered me a lot.

Many of the immigrants had studied English in their homeland but learned immediately that it was not "good enough". Americans were not patient listeners. It seemed they could not tolerate a slowly spoken accented English. Again, they were made to feel out of it, having to endure looks of disgust and coldness.

As for dress, the immigrants felt their clothes not to be fashionably Ameri an. For one thing, climate in the home country dictated dress. Persons from the Carribean, Eastern Europe and Asia brought their own dress styles, not totally Western or what was vogue in the States. On that count too, they felt others covertly looked at them as "outsiders". "It's funny. They don't have to say anything, they just make you feel strange or out of place", observed Maria.

What have just been reported were early sentiments expressed during the first year of study and later as participants reflected on those early days. Over time, there was a lesser sense of estrangement as the way of life became more familiar. Graduating from high school, going to college, making friends, living in a neighborhood where they felt welcome and even had neighbors like them served to heighten the sense of belonging.

For some, belonging was expressed primarily through citizenship. "It was the happiest day of my life. I had dreamed about it." Those from Eastern European/Socialist countries, China and Korea, embraced citizen status as soon as they were eligible. They considered it a "highlight", the best thing to happen in their young lives. Gil and Syung became politically active in their college communities, feeling they wanted to make contributions to the system that had taken them in.

Immigrants from the Carribean and Central America were more ambivalent about taking this step. Coincidentally, they were non-white and quite often had experienced discrimination.

Bernard: I want to feel connected. I doubt that I would ever return to work or live there because life there is not easy, but I'm still not ready to give it up.

Maria: I still have this hope of someday returning and helping my people. I have many relatives there, and although my parents and brothers and sisters are here, I have never felt at home.

While many of the immigrants from the Carribean and Central America see the functional rationale for becoming American citizens, they still value their native citizenship and want to wait a little longer.

As the immigrants found more familiarity in relations and in their surroundings, they felt more a part of the way of life in the United States. Evelyn, a Chinese woman, talked with great pride about the second home the family had purchased. The first was bought some five years after the family's arrival in 1973 and the second in 1980. Except for the oldest daughter who was married, the other three unmarried children remained at home. Some mentioned comfort in relations with other immigrants with whom they could continue to speak their first language and discuss news from back home. Newspapers and radio and television programming directed to their ethnic and racial group were also seen as bridging cultural groups. "It's very important for my parents and grandparents to read a Chinese newspaper and to buy Chinese cooking products in Chinatown, reported Helen.

The growing Spanish speaking communities with representation from Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, other Central American countries and Cuba provided a welcome familiarity to newcomers. Granted, there are exceptions to

these positive experiences, yet overall immigrants consider the presence of other Spanish speakers as a comfort and haven. The availability of social service and mental health centers with Spanish speaking providers was also pointed to as a source of support.

From the reports, a sense of belonging is key to feeling positive about oneself, to feeling trust and positive regard from others and for others, and to making a commitment to stay in the States. Esteem is derived internally and externally. One's personal identity is enhanced by positive experiences with the primary ethnic group, with the host Anglo-American society and by virtue of decisions to embrace American citizenship while still maintaining basic cultural ties.

Primary Group/Cultural Values

At the beginning of the study (1977), I asked the then adolescents what values meant to them, if they could articulate them. Ana, who at the time was 18 expressed these thoughts:

> I value life as the most valuable thing around because I enjoy living as well as providing care and help for everybody. I would love to return to the Dominican Republic to work as a doctor among my people and perhaps later get to Africa also to help others and to see the wonders of nature.

Five years later as a college graduate working as a high school home economics teacher, Ana commented on her values and philosophy of life:

> God is a very important part of my life. He has seen me through my undergraduate work, and with his help, I will pursue a master's program in nutrition and fashion merchandising. I believe life is full of goodness that should be shared. With my training, I can give to others and hopefully help them a little. That's how I look at life, a giving of yourself.

For all of the participants, values were described as an important part of life, based on family modeling and teaching. "You grow up with them", said Nancy. As they talked about what they valued, two noteworthy points emerged: an interest in the welfare of others, primarily their family, and for others through their careers, or social action activities; and their appreciation for the sense of freedom and opportunitites available in the United States.

> Bernard: If you're hard working, you can do what you want here. I value a good home and hard work and you can have it here. Money is only money until you spend it. If you use it toward something constructive, then you'll get something out of it. I plan to do that with money.

He is a college graduate with a number of hours towards a commercial pilots license, his real dream. Currently, Bernard is a hotel management trainee, pursuing airline training, and music interests. For the past five summers, he has supervised adolescents working on city renewal projects. "I'm like a teacher. I like to make another person feel wanted, feel self-worth because I have a lot to give and share with someone else."

Bernard's comments were representative of the others. They spoke about the influence of their parents and how at times they had to make difficult decisions around values. But for all, parents served as models, as major influences.

> Gil: I have a lot to be thankful for. My parents have always worked hard. What they have done has been for us. That's a big sacrifice. I want to be able to take care of them later too. I have learned from them.

For many, the confusion around values came with college entry. These were the tumultuous years. Majors were changed, leaves of absence were taken to think and sort out, failures were experienced, and introspection occurred. At age 22 in retrospect, Frances observed:

> Actually, it was harder when I was 18 or 19. There seemed to be so much pressure at achool, so many choices available. Now I have more balance and what I find is that I continue to live by my original values. The questioning and confusion are over for now.

Francis recently graduated with a double major in chemical engineering and economics. He will eventually take over the (Chinese) family business, as he is the eldest son, but for now, he is gaining experience on his own with the support of his parents.

Career comments suggest commitment to education but no concrete plans or speculations about the current career path as being the only possibility. Plans were both practical and humanitarian. Those who pursued engineering or other science fields did so out of personal interest and because of the future job market. Persons who were oriented to the service sector (social worker, hotel management, teacher and nursing) felt this was a true expression of their desire to "help" others. While they were mindful of financial security,

they did not cite it as a dominant motivating force. When asked about this, they pointed to their parents as both role models and influences around the value of money. "Sure it is nice to have but it doesn't buy happiness", remarked Juan.

> Harriet: A career means not having to depend on my parents or husband if I have one. In computers and accounting it means I might not be good in English but I can do as well in other things. I've seen my parents do it too.

Maria switched majors more than once before arriving at an area of study that was an expression of herself. "From mathematics and geology I got into social work. It's a way I can relate to people and hopefully help those less fortunate than myself." John wanted to be a mechanical engineer in high school. In college he took the distribution requirements and found sculpture and fine arts to be more interesting.

> I went to some seminars and learned a lot. The professors told me I had talent. Eventually I would like to go into the field of restoration. To me a career means doing things like being part of society and making a contribution.

For two, graduate studies have been completed, and another five are in process. Others talk about post graduate preparation but are less clear. Again, parental desire that their children complete a college education is foremost. Graduate school is further reason to be proud. For the immigrants, their chosen career paths express a sense of identity derived from personal values and cultural group values.

My contact with participants during these years allowed me to see how they got caught off balance after high school. Plans were undone, questioned, and reworked. While they acknowledge that college graduation and finding a job are not panaceas. they feel that along the way they have clarified their outlook on life and that their basic value system has served to guide them. Juan, who comes from Central America, is poetic in his response.

> Love is one of my values. I find it important to love other people, to be responsible to others. My greatest wish is that there be peace among everybody. And the most beautiful to me would be no division among people. That people not see themselves as superior and inferior. That two poles come together.

After his sophomore year he returned to his country to visit relatives. While there he lived among the Indians and sat in on university classes. He returned with those perspectives and with many questions about his responsibility to "his people". He struggled with the notion of how to make his career in civil engineering a means to enable him to contribute to the welfare of others - here and "at home".

> Syung: My values would include honesty, reputation and honor. Those are modeled by my parents and are very important to me. They bring me back to me.

As I review the students' current status, it is not at all surprising that they are more centered and certain about what they want out of life. They all come from families where cultural values are strongly emphasized and lived. There do not appear to be conflicting messages from parents or other significant family members. This consistency has served as an anchor for the immi-

grants as they sorted through career choices, friendships, feelings of loneliness and isolation, and basic reasons for explaining to themselves what they wanted to do and how they were going to manage getting there. It was the acceptance of their basic values within the United States mainstream national values system that provided stability and guidance in the face of confusion. They came to realize that accomodations could be made without rejecting those values that were their guides. Again, an integrative process was occurring, contributing to their more consolidated sense of identity.

Personal Relations

There were several questions that inquired about: social life and peer groups, relations with parents and friends and, feelings about self and a sense of self-identification. Responses were thoughtful, self-critical, and reflected an attitude or sense of being "in process", of tentativeness, yet optimism and positive thinking in general. Gone were the earlier feelings tied to appreciation based on external only criteria, i.e., how I compare to the Americans. While mindful of the dominance of a white, middle class American system, they had learned how to value themselves and not "give up" those elements that reflect and support their basic sense of identity. A strong pull was derived from one's parents.

The importance of personal relationships, primarily with one's family, were mentioned in all of the interviews. Individuals saw their strengths as a result of family influence and support. Career planning was one arena in which parents played major roles as discussed in the previous section on the

cultural values theme. That is, a reflection of parental emphasis on education and work and their internalization of those attitudes and values was foremost. While not all parents were college eduated or working in what might be termed "professional" jobs, they nevertheless had high expectations for their children.

> Bernard: My mother came here for me and my brothers. She wanted us to have a future. She did a number of jobs, from seamstress to nursing, what she was trained for back home. Now it's up to us to do our part.
>
> Maria: I guess you'd say my mother is a professional mother and homemaker. But together, she and my father, who is a draftsman, have made sure that we all have the opportunities to do and be what we want.

The participants acknowledged the considerable importance of their family at all times. They expressed an independence from them coupled with a healthy sense of belonging and affiliation.

> Maria: In terms of my family, I will always give up something without a second thought. As long as I have it I will.
>
> Bernard: I like to make them happy. I like to keep people happy in general to help me out, to do things with both. I want to show appreciation to my parents and friends.
>
> John: I am a kind kid. My values are honesty, reputation, and honor that I learned from my family.

Their sentiments reflected those of other participants. They knew their family came to the United States for them, for their education and economic advancement. It is not surprising that all now feel responsibility for their parents' future well being.

> Bernard: A good son or daughter provides for his parents when they get old. He does for parents not just to suit one's advance.
>
> Kathy: We are very happy that my parents have retired. They gave up a lot for us. Now it's our turn to take care of them.

Relations with peer group pointed to affiliations primarily with others of the same ethnic group or other immigrants. Subjects felt a greater compatability and sameness with these individuals around interests, values and openness.

> Fatima: Sometimes culture gets in the way. I haven't changed that much, I guess I'm different from other Portuguese; I don't always agree. They have different life values, more like Americans.
>
> Michael: I was president of the International students club. It meant being more at ease. There's a naturalness and simplicity about the people. It's lovely.
>
> Maria: My roomate in college from Hong Kong and Juanita who is from the Dominican Republic like myself, are my closest friends. It's easiest to communicate with them.

Bernard mentioned two other male subjects in the study as his closest friends. They met in the psychological education course/intervention.

One woman from the Soviet Union married another Soviet immigrant. Bernard became engaged to a woman from the same Carribean island, and Juanita married

a man from her island. Where dating occurred, the women went out with men of the same background. Males saw women outside of their ethnic group. Parental approval was critical in all cases.

"How would you describe yourself" was a question asked through the five years. In the most recent responses are a more integrated sense of self, one built on family influence and personal experience and learnings along the way.

> Marsha: In a way I guess I'm self centered. That's probably because I'm an only child but it also means I am attached to immediate family and friends. Here in America we feel we are outside of the general circle. It depends on the situation.
>
> Frances: I am friendly, I enjoy being with people particularly my (ethnic) friends and sisters and brothers. My parents are far away and that makes it hard. So we stick together as much as we can.
>
> Juan: I am a friendly person. I try. I care about everybody and I am loyal.

Karen described herself as more independent:

> I think I know more things. I find I know what I want to do. I feel I know who I am and now I am more certain about what I want for the future.

There was a greater sense of balance in these self-definitions than those of three and five years ago. Descriptions were complimentary and honest. Confusion, negativity and uncertainty, reflecting the feelings of marginality have since changed, paralleling the patterns of growth in their personal development. Personal relationships with family and friends have enhanced sense of self along with the integration of realized ambitions and accomplishments.

For the individual immigrant, a range of experiences over time, coupled with an ability to look within to examine one's strengths, weaknesses and resources have contributed to growth in the search for self.

Summary

In this manuscript I have described identity themes for adolescent immigrants, now young adults, that took shape over a five year period. The initial question - how will the identity development process for adolescents be affected by immigration at the onset or in the midst of adolescence? - was answered based on three emergent identity themes. They are: sense of belonging versus estrangement; identification with primary group and cultural values; and personal relations. While there are more themes that may be teased out of the abundance of data, these provide an idea of the complexity of acculturation and identity integration issues encountered by these subjects and others like them. This sample included 30 individuals from 13 different cultural backgrounds. The themes that did emerge suggest some commonalities among immigrant adolescents' identity issues.

The statements are not exhaustive. They are small entries from detailed responses to two interviews and from earlier written journals. Working from the perspective of researcher and psychologist, I took an emic approach to try to capture the essence of the individual's experience. They became researchers with me. It was a shared exploration of an immigrant's changes and growth in another country. From this close observation and interaction, I have witnessed their individual development along the identity dimensions discussed. As Erikson (1968) reminds us, consolidations must be combined

into a unique wholeness and individuality. These young adults struggled, questioned, and evaluated. They looked outside and within themselves to gain understanding, to sort out and to reach a new sense of balance.

For the immigrants this socialization process in the United States combines new and familiar cultural elements. Individuals now feel more in control of their lives. They no longer feel rejected, neither are they feeling totally welcome. The balance comes more from feeling they have choices about how they structure their "belonging". That is, they are now able to say "these are my friends" or "I feel more Korean than I used to because I have accepted myself" (Syung). This is not to suggest finality about identity, but rather to express how Syung and others currently feel about themselves. They still have questions, and as we know, identity gets readdressed at different points in the life span development process.

Erikson (1964) has discussed the foreclosure or negative identity as dimensions of the identity development struggle. For these young adults, neither applies. None "shut down" and remained separate from the mainstream, nor did they associate with others as a form of rebellion. This is noteworthy because of the many external stresses imposed upon the newcomers. As Erikson (1964) has stated, a negative identity is often attractive to minority group adolescents. In these cases, the strong support and sense of family provided the needed anchor in the unsteady years.

There are limitations to this investigation that must be acknowledged. For example, this is a self-selected sample comprised of individuals from

diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds. All are seemingly upwardly mobile based on their parent's desire to be here and the young adult's educational/ career orientation. Sex differences were not addressed but it is another area to be examined in subsequent analyses. Another factor lies with the research design. This began with a quasi-experimental design and then shifted to emphasis on a qualitative approach. The lack of rigidity did not present difficulties to the researcher. Rather, it enabled me to gather data more thoroughly and intimately. The hours spent talking with the young men and women were inspiring and truly of a learning nature for both of us. Herein lies the richness and heart of the research - to know about the immigrants' experiences from their own words.

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Table 1

Profile of Immigrant Young Adults

Subject	YOB	DOA	Homeland	Language	Citizen Status
*1-M	1960	1975	Iran	Farsi	Student Visa
2-M	1961	1975	Israel	English/Hebrew	Returned
*3-F	1959	1975	Iran	Farsi	Student Visa
4-M	1959	1975	Korea	Korean	Citizen
*5-F	1960	1973	Soviet Union	Russian	Citizen
*6-M	1957	1974	Hong Kong	Chinese	Citizen
*7-M	1958	1975	Hong Kong	Chinese	Citizen
*8-F	1959	1971	Hong Kong	Chinese	Citizen
9-F	1960	1975	Korea	Korean	Citizen
10-M	1961	1975	Spain	Spanish	Citizen
*11-F	1961	1976	Puerto Rico	Spanish	Citizen
*12-F	1960	1976	Columbia	Spanish	Citizen
*13-F	1959	1976	Jamaica	Patois/English	Permanent Resid.
*14-M	1958	1973	Jamaica	Patois/English	Permanent Resid.
*15-F	1959	1974	Trinidad	Patois/Spanish	Permanent Resid.
*16-M	1958	1974	Trinidad	Patois/Spanish	Permanent Resid.
17-M	1960	1973	Italy	Italian	Citizen
*18-M	1961	1974	Romania	Romanian	Citizen
*19-F	1958	1973	Costa Rica	Spanish	Permanent Resid.
20-M	1960	1975	Guatemala	Spanish	Permanent Resid.
21-F	1959	1976	Soviet Union	Russian	Citizen
22-M	1958	1974	Burma	Chinese/Burmese	Citizen
23-M	1959	1974	Greece	Greek	Citizen
24-F	1960	1975	Romania	Romanian	Citizen
*25-F	1960	1975	Taiwan	Chinese	Citizen
26-F	1960	1975	Armenia	Armenian	Citizen
*27-F	1959	1975	Sweden	Sweden/English	Citizen
*28-F	1960	1974	Hong Kong	Chinese	Citizen
29-F	1960	1974	Soviet Union	Russian	Citizen
30-F	1960	1974	Korea	Korean	Citizen

*Complete five years' data. All participants are included regardless of termination of participation or other lack of eligibility criteria.

Table 2

Young Adults' College Majors and Parents Occupation

Subject	Parents Occupation	Residence	College Major
1-M	Merchant - F Professor - M	Own	B.S. Civil Engineering and Chemistry
2-M	Returned to Israel		
3-F	Retired - F Housewife - M	Rental	*B.A. Human Services - 1983
4-M	Doctor - F Housewife - M	Own	*B.A. Fine Arts - 1983
5-M	Mathematician - F Language Professor - M	Own	B.A. Political Science Law School - 1985
6-M	Resturant Workers	Own	B.S. Civil Engineering
7-M	Factory Owners	Own	B.S. Chemistry/Engineering/ Economics
8-F	Seamstress - M Chef - F	Rental	B.A. Business Administration
9-F	Businessman - F Housewife - M	Own	B.S. Biology
10-M	Lost Contact		
11-F	Airforce Career - F Housewife - M		No College
12-F	Lost Contact		
13-F	Technician - F Nurse - M	Rental	A.A. Nursing School
14-M	Nurse - M	Rental	B.S. Civil Engineering/ Hotel Mgt - MBA program
15-F	Draftsman - F Housewife - M	Rental	B.S. Social Work
16-M	Draftsman - F Housewife - M	Rental	B.A. Fine Arts
17-M	City Worker - F Housewife - M	Own	B.A. Buisness Administration/ Economics

Table 2 (Continued)

Subject	Parents Occupation	Residence	College Major
18-M	Computer Specialists M - F	Rental	B.S. Economics M.S. Electrical Engineering
19-F	Nurse - M	Rental	B.S. Home Economics
20-M	Engineer - F Housewife - M	Rental	B.S. Civil Engineering/ Political Science
21-F	Mathematician - F	Rental	B.A. Romance Languages
22-M	Electrician - F Garment Factory Worker-M	Rental	Incomplete
23-M	Resturant Owners M - F	Own	B.S. Science
24-F	Doctor - F Librarian - M		B.S. Optometry
25-F	Scientist - F Housewife - M	House Rental	B.S. Electrical Engineering M.S. Electrical Engineering
26-F	Housing Managers M - F	In California	B.A. Political Science
27-F	Artist - M	In Atlanta	B.A. Fine Arts
28-F	Restaurant Workers/ Retired M - F	Own	B.S. Computer Science
29-F	Lost Contact		
30-F	Lost Contact	In Rhode Island	

M-Mother F=Father

*To graduate in 1983

Table 3

Sample Interview Questions

1. What were the reasons for coming to the United States?
2. How do you feel about having left?
3. Who are your closest friends?
4. What are your present career goals?
5. How do you think you decided to do this?
6. Describe yourself.
7. What would you describe as your values?
8. Describe your goals for adulthood.
9. How have you changed since coming to the United States?
10. What factors/people have impacted you most?